

TERMINOLOGY IN THE GRAMMATICAL TRACTS: *CIALL TEASÁIDHEACHTA*

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ABSTRACT

It has been held that the Irish grammatical tracts do not have a term for the relative clause. In this article, previously overlooked terms are identified and the passages in which they occur in the grammatical tracts are discussed.

In his important 1965 study of ‘Linguistic terminology in the mediaeval Irish bardic tracts’, Brian Ó Cuív chose *IGT* I §90 as an example of ‘how round-about the expression of a rule [in the tracts] can be for lack of precise terminology’. In the passage in question it is explained that the third singular relative form of the copula in the present indicative is followed by lenition.¹ This differs from the non-relative form, which does not mutate a subsequent initial. The earlier distinction in form between non-relative *is* and relative *as* had been lost by this date, so the teaching is expressed by reference to the negative, for which distinct non-relative and relative forms of the copula had been maintained, namely *ní* and *nach*. The passage in question reads as follows, with Eoin Mac Cárthaigh’s translation of it:

An úair bhíos **ní** ar a dhiúltadh so, **as**, lomadh as cóir na dháigh mur so: as **fearr** mé iná thú, fearn lom air. An úair bhíos **nach** ar a dhiúltadh so, **as**, séimhioghadh as cóir na dháigh mur so: as mór as **fhearr** mhé iná thú, ó’s **nach** atá ar a dhiúltadh so **as fhearr** ann.

‘When *ní* is its negative counterpart, *as* should be followed by non-mutation, like this: *as fearr mé iná thú*, with an unlenited *f*. When *nach* is its negative counterpart, *as* should be followed by lenition, like this: *as mór as fhearr mhé iná thú*, since it is *nach* that is the negative counterpart of *as fhearr* there.’²

* I am grateful to the editors of *Ériu* and to an anonymous reader for their helpful comments. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

¹ According to Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhasa, however, mutation after the relative form is optional, *GGBM* 2087–91. For discussion, see Mac Cárthaigh (2002, 106 q. 4a n.) and *SNG IV* §3.2 (g).

² Mac Cárthaigh (2014, 112–13 (§90)); modified to include Bergin’s useful feature of placing words under discussion in bold. The passage is also translated by Ó Cuív (1965, 148–9). On Bergin’s mis-expansion of the MS reading as *neach* instead of the correct *nach* and on placing some additional words in bold-face, see *BST* p. 126 (199.11 n.) where McKenna corrects Bergin’s reading; cf. also McManus (1992, 15 n. 4).

Ó Cuív's discussion of this passage suggests that Classical Irish grammarians had no term available to them for a relative clause.³

Ó Cuív seems to have overlooked the term *ciall teasaidheachta*, however. This means a 'warming sense' (literally 'a sense of heat') and clearly indicates relativity in the examples to hand.⁴ It occurs in Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhasa's prosody, *Ealadhain an Dána Gaoidhealda* and the copy of *IGT* III §22 in *RIA E iv 1* (751). The relevant passages are presented with discussion below. The first has to do with the use of the article with definite nouns and forms part of a discussion of faults to be avoided.

(1)

Nā bíod[h] sunnradh ná barr agat achd na n-áit iomchubhaidh (v.l. nait-ibh iomchuibhidhe) féin. Nā bíodh sunnradh agad gan bharr nō gan chéil[l] teasaidheachda na ndiaigh, munab ní oirrdhearc nō aonda do b'áil leat do t[h]uigsin ann, nó muna abairtheá 'an b[h]ean' ar son na n-uile mban, nó a leit[h]éid oile (*GGBM* 2840–4).

Translation

'Do not employ definiteness or an enclitic except in their proper place. Do not employ definiteness without an enclitic or the force of a relative clause after them,⁵ unless you may wish that a famous or unique thing be understood, or unless you might say *an bhean* ("the woman") for all women or the like.'

Commentary

The discussion in this passage is to be connected with the fault termed *iomarcaidh sunnartha* elsewhere in *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae*.⁶ The fault occurs when a definite noun is further defined by the article or possessive adjective. This would apply, for example, to a personal name or to a genitive construction in which the second noun is preceded by the article and another instance of the article is inserted before the first noun (the 'double definite article'), for instance *an Brian, mo Bhrian* and *an lámh an fhir*. The fault does not occur if the noun is followed by: (a) an enclitic demonstrative or emphasising particle, for example *an Briansa, mo Bhriansa* and *an lámhsa an fhir*; (b) a relative clause, as in *táinig an Brian do bhuail mé*.

³ Compare also McManus (1992, 15).

⁴ For *ciall* used of grammatical forms in the sense 'force, function, meaning', see *DIL* s.v. *ciall* (d).

⁵ Given that the plural possessive adjective is used in this sentence, it may be preferable to expand *sunnradh* as a plural form, namely *sunnraidh*, or to read the variant plural form *sunnartha* (for which, see *DIL* s.v. *sainred* and *IGT* II §49). This could be justified on the basis that the teaching encompasses different types of definition, such as definition by the article or by a possessive adjective (for the types of definition which were recognised, see *IGT* I §15). Alternatively, we could read *dhiadha*.

⁶ *GGBM* 1908–9 and discussed in *GGBM* 1905–32. The term *iomarcaidh sunnartha* also occurs in *IGT* I §§2, 15 (with discussion); see further *BST* 67a.8–26 and 66a.12–66b.9. The teaching summarised above is based solely on *GGBM*; the relationship between its doctrine and that of the other sources is not discussed here as this has no bearing on the interpretation of the term *ciall teasaidheachta*.

The second exception, (b), is of relevance in the present context and is found in *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* where it is phrased as follows:

Excipe secundo, quando subsequitur pronomen relativum subintell-
ectum, ut *táinig an Brian do b[h]uail mé*, et quando dicitur *táinig Brian*,
recte interrogat *cía an Brian?* subintelligitur ‘qui venit’, vel ‘quem dicis’.

This is expressed in almost identical terms by Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín in the 1728 grammar entitled *The elements of the Irish language, grammatically explained in English in 14. chapters*:

Except, ... [s]econdly when a Pronoun Relative is understood in the
speech, as *táinigh [sic] an Domhnall do bhuail me*, for the question may
be well put, *cía an Domhnall*, ‘what Daniël?’⁷

This exception corresponds to the idea expressed by the term *ciall teasaidh-eachta* in the passage cited above and, taken in conjunction with (2) below, clearly establishes its meaning as referring to a relative clause.

The second passage is a note on the past passive form of *do-gheibh*. The context is diagnostic and supports the interpretation of the term *ciall teasaidheachta* as indicating a relative clause.

(2)

fríoth fríotha .c. ríth .l. an fer fríth agus ríth as .c. ann gach ionadh a bfaghar
ciall tesuighechta gus an bhfocalsin as .c. ar .r. agus ar f.e (E iv 1, 20r; cf. *IGT*
III p. 193 n. 12–12).

[Alterations have been made to the underlined words in a different hand, that of a later scribe who was designated E² by Bergin, as follows: *ríoth; fríoth; fhríoth; .fh.*]⁸

Translation (of unrevised text)

‘*fríoth fríotha* correct, *ríth* incorrect, *an fear fríth* and *ríth* (“the man who was found”) correct, everywhere the force of a relative clause is found attached to (*lit.* up to) that word it is correct that it begin with *r* and *f*.’

Commentary

The past passive forms of *do-gheibh* are *fríoth* and *fríotha* (plural).⁹ A non-relative form *ríth* (= *ríoth*) is faulted in this passage and, in addition,

⁷ Mac Curtin (1728, 78). The same teaching is found in an unpublished grammar of 1713 by Francis Walsh (Proinsias Bhailis), for which see Mac Aogáin (1968, xv–xvi), who also discusses the influence of the *Rudimenta* on this work; it has *Brian* in the above examples as in the *Rudimenta*, see King’s Inns MS 24, 95. Mac Cruitín’s grammar is ‘apparently but an edited version’ of Walsh’s according to de Brún (1972, 63), cf. also Morley (1995, 95–9).

⁸ For E², see *IGT* III p. 167 and *RIA Cat.* Fasc. 18, 2314–15. The alteration of *ríth* to *ríoth* (fourth word) and the addition of a spiritus asper above *f* (penultimate word) were not noted by Bergin in his edition.

⁹ Compare also *BST* 238.21–2/15a.19–20.

the construction *ní ríth* is labelled as incorrect in *IGT* III 255. The only situation in which a form *ríoth* is acceptable is in a relative clause, as exemplified in the citation in the tract: *Is easbach lim an Rí ríth* (v.ll. *easbhuid*; *leam* E iv 1) ‘Distressing to me is the King who was found’.¹⁰ That this signifies a form with initial *r*, rather than a lenited form of *fríoth*, appears to be confirmed by the following example in which *ríoth* occurs in an indirect relative clause and a nasalised form *bhfríoth* would not provide alliteration:¹¹

Dá n-innisear ní hiúl cam / dá gach fhios dá ríoth (frith MS) *romham / láimh re cion na ríogh roimhe / ciodh fa mbíodh an bhóroimhe* ‘It will not be amiss if I give a full account of the old story as to how the Cattle-tribute came to be added to the other prerogatives of our ancient kings’.¹²

The first couplet, which is relevant for present purposes, may be rendered more literally as ‘If I relate—it is [= will be] no false knowledge—of all the lore of that which was found before me’. The term *ciall teasaidheachta* occurs in this passage only in the copy in E iv 1; in the other copies which are discussed at (3) a related term is found.

The adjectives *té* ‘hot’ and *fiar* ‘cold’ are also used in the sense of ‘relative’ and ‘non-relative’ respectively.¹³ Examples occur in *IGT* III and in a tract

¹⁰ *IGT* III 256 (= *IGT* III 216*cd*, as noted by Bergin, and *DDé* no. 26 q. 32*c* as identified by McManus (1997, 94)); cf. also *DDé* no. 26 q. 26*ab*: *Síol nEabha ag toibhéim tré thnúth / is fíor ceana is roiréidh ríoth* ‘Eve’s race in malice reviling (Him), He was found lovable and gentle’ (McKenna’s translation). For *easbach* in the sense translated above, see *Mag.* p. 406 (l. 546 n.) and *Butlers* pp 110–11 (l. 278 n.). *IGT* III 216 reads: *Dia Domnaigh a-drécht gu luath / an t-écht ón chomraid gu cách / as easbach lim an Rí ríth / arna díth a cinn trí tráth* ‘The slain one rose from the tomb into the world early on Sunday, distressing to me is the King who was found to be missing (?) after three days’; *díoth* is tentatively interpreted by the present writer in *DIL*’s sense (b) ‘privation, want, absence’ in the context). The Book of Uí Mhaine, on which the edition in *DDé* is based, reads ‘ní heasbaidh’ (f. 61r) in place of *is easbach*. In his edition, McKenna emended ‘intect’ and ‘dith’ (both faded) in lines *b* and *d* to *ar dteacht* and *shíoth* respectively, resulting in the following text and translation: *Dia Domhnaigh a-dreacht go luath / ar dteacht a comhráir go cách / ní heasbhaidh liom an Rí [ríoth] / ar n-a [shíoth] i gcionn trí dtráth* ‘On Sunday early He arose from His tomb into the world; I rejoice for the Lord who was found reconciled (with us) after the Three Days’. His emendations are hardly justified, however, as *dteacht* does not rhyme with *a-dréacht* and the idea is, presumably, either that the poet is distressed at the prospect of Christ exacting vengeance for his death (reading *is easbhach*) or joyful at the chance for salvation offered by Christ’s death (reading *ní heasbhaidh*). Both sentiments are encountered in religious poetry, see Ó Ríain (2015, 157–8) and *AithdD.* no. 65 q. 1.

¹¹ Retaining the form in the manuscript with initial *f* and reading *fios* and *bhfríoth* would also provide alliteration. Lack of lenition after *gach* (dative) is, however, non-classical according to Mac Cárthaigh (2002, 108 7*c* n.; ‘is dócha gur féidir glacadh leis go bhfuil an easpa shéimhithe seo neamhchlasaiceach’), and this supports McKenna’s emendation.

¹² Text and translation: *AithdD.* no. 18 q. 2 (edited from Yellow Book of Lecan, TCD H 2. 16 (1318), col. 204.24–5). See McKenna’s remarks on *ríoth* in vol. II pp 234 (2*b* n.) and 289 s.v. *do-ghabhaim*. This poem, beginning *loc sa mbórainmhe ag cloinn Chuinn*, is on the marriage of Aodh Buidhe Ó Néill (d. 1444) to Fionnghuala, daughter of An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair Failghe.

¹³ For the long vowel in *té*, see Breatnach (2003, 137). Hoyne (2016, 191) has recently suggested that ‘a form of the adj. *té* with a short vowel was familiar to bardic poets’. He gives one example of uncompounded *te* from a poem in *ógláchas*. The edition of the example in question (*DG* no. 8 q. 4*bd*) reads *atá mo ghuth ar mo bhreith ... fá mo dhruim, do bheith sé te*. The Book of the O’Conor Don, f. 25v, however, reads ‘ata mo ghuth ar mo breith féin’ in line *b*. Thus its

on the subjunctive preserved in TCD H 2. 17 (1319) and H 2. 12 (no. 12) (1311).¹⁴ These passages are discussed here.

(3)

fríth frítha .c. o neminndscne ríth .l. an fer ríth .c. agus gach uair dogebthur te mar sin he as .c. he (H 2. 17, 211; cf. *IGT* III §22)

Translation

‘*fríth frítha* correct in the sense of the passive, *ríth* incorrect, *an fear ríth* correct, and whenever it is found in relative position (*lit.* hot) like that it is correct.’

Commentary

This corresponds to item (2) above.¹⁵ The same idea is conveyed, if expressed in slightly different terms and with the omission of the unlenited form *fríoth*. The comment beginning ‘*agus gach uair etc.*’ does not occur in the copies in RIA C i 3 (750) and TCD H 2. 12 (no. 4) (1305).¹⁶

(4)

Tigim ní dhuit ní thugas amhain a .d. [an uair tigim ní dait .l. ní fuilngenn sin red te do chur roimhi E²] (E iv 1, 16r; cf. *IGT* III §14).¹⁷

[The passage enclosed in square brackets is found only in the copy of *IGT* III in RIA E iv 1 in the later hand which was designated E² by Bergin.]¹⁸

Translation

‘*Tigim ní dhuit* (“I give you something”): only *ní thugas* (“I did not give”) is its negative [*an uair tigim ní dait* (“when I give you something”) incorrect;

rhyiming partner for *te* is a word with a long *é*. In light of this, the example cannot be advanced as an instance of *te* with a short vowel. (Although the line in question is a syllable too long in the Book of the O’Conor Don, this might perhaps be resolved by reading ‘*a-tá ar nguth*’. For instances of first singular forms occurring in the Book of the O’Conor Don where other manuscripts have first plural forms (the reverse of which is suggested here), see Ó Riain (2010, 155); for a comparable instance of writing a first plural form in error for a first singular, see Yellow Book of Lecan, col. 215.36 (where the form is corrected). It should be observed that emendation to *ar nguth* could, but need not, necessitate also reading *ar ar mbreith*. Combination of singular and plural (here *mo bhreith, ar nguth*) is a feature which has been described as ‘not uncommon’ by Eleanor Knott, *ISP* 90: 2c n.).

¹⁴ For an account of the tract on the subjunctive, see McManus (1996, 174–5). Text of the tract has been made available online by Damian McManus at: www.tcd.ie/Irish/assets/doc/TractOnSubjunctive.doc.

¹⁵ The words *na fir* are added in the margin after *frítha* in the copy of the tract found in RIA C i 3 (750) as noted by Bergin (*IGT* III p. 193 n. 10). He does not, however, indicate that the words *ó neminndscne* are found here only in the copy in TCD H 2. 17 (1319).

¹⁶ The copy in H 2. 12 was not used by Bergin in his edition; for notice of this copy, see Breatnach (2004, 49 n. 2).

¹⁷ In *IGT* III *loc. cit.* ‘do .d.’ (the reading of H 2. 17) is not given as a variant of ‘a .d.’ (the reading of E iv 1 and C i 3); ‘the (?)’ is read for ‘te’; ‘amhain’ is enclosed in square brackets although it is written in the main hand of E iv 1, this is perhaps intended to convey that the word is absent from the other manuscripts consulted by Bergin. It also occurs, in the form ‘abain’ and followed by ‘aigi’, in the copy in H 2. 12, for which see n. 16 above.

¹⁸ See n. 8 above.

that (*sc.* form) does not tolerate an antecedent to a relative clause (*lit.* something hot) to be placed before it].

Commentary

The use of *tig* in the sense of the verb *do-bheir* is permitted.¹⁹ According to this passage, it may be employed only under certain circumstances, namely (a) as a historic present, as indicated by the negative form cited, and (b) in non-relative position. The phrase *réd té*, which is employed here to denote an antecedent to a relative clause, may be compared to the use of *réd* in a passage in *BST* 67a.8 concerned with the teaching discussed under (1) above: O hUiginn, .l. sunnr(*adh*) air achd le barr no le red eigin nach ba he fein. This was translated and explained by McKenna as follows: “‘Ó hUiginn is not to be defined by any word (e.g. *an, mo, do, &c.*) unless it has an enclitic or something else besides itself”; i.e. an art. or other defining word will not be used to define a family-name unless the name bear an enclitic, or is followed by a rel. clause.’²⁰

(5)

Mar budh tú agus <o> budh tu ticfa .l. iad ar aen bhus as .c. ann sin <mar agus> o da iarmberla tee (H 2. 17, 240; faded items are enclosed in angular brackets) :

mar budh tú ticfa agus o budh tu ticfa .l. mar bus agus o bus as .c. and mar agus o da iarmberla téé iad (H 2. 12, 3v).

Translation of H 2. 12

‘Mar budh tú ticfa and o budh tu ticfa are incorrect; mar bus and o bus are correct in that case. Mar and o are two unstressed words which cause a subsequent verb to be in the relative form (*lit.* are two hot unstressed words).’

Commentary

The conjunctions *mar* and *ó* are correctly followed by a relative form of a verb. Accordingly, the non-relative future form of the copula, *budh*, is faulted in the above examples. This is expressed in the text by the phrase ‘da iarmberla tee/da iarmberla téé’, literally ‘two hot unstressed words’.

(6)

Coir ór ré gach niarmberla .s. agus .g. ar bith as e dober sin nach foil ann acht iarmberla fuar Oir .l. or .c. (H 2. 17, 239) :

.c. ór [length-mark faint] re hucht gac níarmberla .sh. agus .g. as e dobir sin nac fuil ann acht focal fuar oir .l. or .c. (H 2. 12, 3r).

¹⁹ *DIL* s.v. *do-icc* III and Murphy (1953), 331–2 s.v. 2 *tigim*.

²⁰ *BST* p. 222. See also *BST* p. 278 for relative clauses in which the antecedent denotes time.

Translation of H 2. 17

‘*Ór* is correct before every unstressed word in the subjunctive and indicative; what causes that is that it is merely an unstressed word which is not followed by a relative clause (*lit.* a cold unstressed word). *Oir* is incorrect; *or* is correct.’

Commentary

This remark arises in the text partly from a concern with conjunctions which should be followed by a relative clause, as in (5) above, and partly from a concern with issues of agreement in mood and tense in cleft sentences which involve relative clauses such as *madh mé tí* ‘if it be I who may come’ and *ó bhus tú tiogfa* ‘since it will be you who will come.’²¹ The variant ‘focal fuar’ occurs in H 2. 12 as against ‘iarmberla fuar’ in H 2. 17; the latter is to be preferred as the conjunction *ór* ‘for, since’ is an unstressed word.²² The term ‘iarmberla fuar’ is applied to this conjunction and, in light of (5) above, is to be interpreted as meaning an unstressed word which is not followed by a relative form of the verb; the verb in question here is the copula since it is described as an unstressed word (*iarmberla suidhighthe agus gáidhilde*). The teaching that the correct form of the conjunction is *ór* rather than *óir* is also found in BST 238.8.

The final example presented here is found in a fragment of grammatical material found in UCD–OFM A 10.²³ The relevant passage consists of a citation followed by brief comment.

(7)

Gidh e an fەر tall ti ticfa. *ben* an<...> ni bi buidelta .l. gid e in fer ti tall tigfa .c. do cell fuair is .c. he (UCD–OFM A 10, f. 4v20–1)

Translation

‘Even if that man yonder who will come may come, there is neither a woman [nor (?)] a flock of tawny birds there (i.e. the area is deserted (?)), incorrect, as for that man who may come, he will come, correct, it is correct in a non-relative sense (*lit.* a cold sense).’²⁴

²¹ I have not lenited forms of the verb *tig/do-ig* (IGT III §5) in examples such as those above since verbs with initial *t* that also have compound forms in Classical Irish ‘show hesitation with regard to the lenition of *t*- in simple relative clauses’, as noted by O’Rahilly (1941, 254 §17). See also TD I p. ci, BST p. 271 and Breatnach (1983, 418 n. 5).

²² See, for example, *DDána* no. 99 q. 37b and *AithdD.* no. 4 v. 14f.

²³ An edition and study of this text and another fragment in A 10 is in preparation by the present writer.

²⁴ The translation of the second line of the citation is not certain. It is tentatively taken by the present writer as containing an instance of asyndeton (for *ben an[n] ní bhí [ná] buidhealta*) and a compound of *buidhe* and *ealta*. The order *ti tall tigfa* of the commentary is very tentatively taken here as an error for *tall tigfa ti* for two reasons: (i) we might not expect the locational adverb in connection with the verb of motion *tig* and (ii) the order *tigfa tí* in the corrected version would be in accordance with the tract on the subjunctive as discussed below.

Commentary

Constructions comparable to that presented in the citation are also discussed in *BST* and the tract on the subjunctive referred to above.²⁵ According to the tract on the subjunctive, an example almost identical to that in the citation above, *Gidh é an fear tí tiogfa*, is to be understood as ‘if the man who may come be one of those who will come’ (*an fer gidh é tī dā [d]ticfa*), although some doubt is expressed as to its correctness (*mása .c. hé* ‘if it is correct’). The clause does not mean ‘if the man who will come may come’ as this would be expressed by the order *gidh é an fear tiogfa tí*, according to the tract. The present passage may be presumed to be faulted on the same basis, and the citation has been translated above to reflect the fault. The construction is, however, deemed permissible in the above citation under conditions explained by means of the term *ciall fhuair* (dat. *céill fhuair*). It can be established that this term refers to a non-relative clause, as it is comparable with the use of *fuar* as applied to unstressed words not followed by the relative in (6) above, and represents an antonym of *ciall teasaidheachta* encountered in passages (1) and (2) above.²⁶ The permissible non-relative sense must refer to the verb in the future, as the subjunctive *tí* will not occur here outside of a subordinate clause. I have interpreted *gidh* in the sense ‘as for, regarding’, in an attempt to present a meaningful non-relative sentence.²⁷

In summary, the passages discussed above show that terms for relativity were available to some grammarians at least.²⁸ These terms are:

- (i) the adjective *té* (applied to the antecedent of a relative clause in the phrase *réd té*, as in (4), to a conjunction followed by such a clause, as in (5), or to the verb affected, as in (3));
- (ii) its antonym *fuar* (used to indicate a conjunction which was not followed by a relative clause, as in (6));
- (iii) the abstract noun *teasaidheacht* in the phrase *ciall teasaidheachta* (applied to a relative clause, as in (1) and (2)); and
- (iv) the phrase *ciall fhuair* (applied to a non-relative clause, as in (7)).

A relative clause could also be denoted by the phrase *réd éigin nach ba hé féin* ‘something other than itself’ mentioned under (4). The purpose of the present article has been to establish the meaning of the terms in question and discuss the passages in which they occur. I intend to discuss possible origins of the terminology presented here in a separate publication.

²⁵ *BST* 66aff.; TCD H 2. 17, 244 and H 2. 12, [1]v col. a.

²⁶ The use of an adjective in *ciall fhuair* as opposed to an abstract in *ciall teasaidheachta* is to be noted.

²⁷ For *gidh* in this sense, see *DIL* s.v. 2 *cía* III.

²⁸ For a discussion of differences in terminology used by the grammarians and an assessment of reasons for such differences, see Ó Riain (2017, 155–6).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AithdD.* L. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána* (2 vols, ITS 37, 40; Dublin, 1939–40).
- BST* L. McKenna, *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (Dublin, 1944; repr. 1979).
- Butlers* J. Carney, *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne (A.D. 1400–1650)* (Dublin, 1945).
- DDána* L. Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim dána* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).
- DDé* L. McKenna, *Dán Dé* (Dublin, 1922).
- DG* T.F. O’Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha* (Cork, 1926. 2nd edn; 1st published 1925).
- GGBM* P. Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir Ghaeilge na mBráthar Mionúr* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1968).
- ISP* E. Knott, *An introduction to Irish syllabic poetry of the period 1200–1600* (Dublin, 1957; 2nd edn).
- Mag.* L. McKenna, *The Book of Magauran* (Dublin, 1947).
- RIA Cat.* O’Rahilly *et al.*, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926–70).

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